

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 AEC-11 AF-10 ARA-16 CIAE-00

DODE-00 EA-11 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 IO-14 L-03 NASA-04

NEA-11 NSAE-00 NSC-10 OIC-04 SPC-03 PA-04 PRS-01

RSC-01 SCI-06 SS-20 USIA-15 SAJ-01 DRC-01 /211 W

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R 281724Z JAN 74

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9994

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 01491

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, GW

SUBJECT: NPT RATIFICATION PROCEEDINGS IN FRG

REF: (A) STATE 7969, (B) BONN 1318, (C) BONN 784 AND
STATE 14134, (D) BONN 854

BEGIN SUMMARY: CDU BUNDESTAG DEPUTY MERTES CALLED AT
HIS REQUEST JAN 28 ON THE AMBASSADOR FOR DISCUSSION OF
NPT RATIFICATION ISSUE. IN EXPLAINING HIS RESERVATIONS
REGARDING NPT, MERTES WENT OVER THE SEVERAL ARGUMENTS
WHICH HE USED IN WASHINGTON WITH DEPUTY SECRETARY RUSH
AND IN EARLIER TALKS WITH THE EMBASSY. THE AMBASSADOR
REPLIED BY DRAWING ON DEPT'S GUIDANCE. MAIN POINTS
FOLLOW. END SUMMARY

1. AFTER SAYING THAT THE CDU DESIRED NO NATIONAL GERMAN
NUCLEAR FORCE, MERTES STRESSED HIS CONCERN THAT THE
SOVIETS COULD EXPLOIT THE LACK OF CLEARCUT, AGREED
DEFINITIONS OF EUROPEAN OPTION AND CONTROL ISSUES TO
INTERFERE WITH EC INTEGRATION PROCESS AS WELL AS ALLIANCE
DEFENSE AND TO ADVANCE RUSSIAN POLITICAL INFLUENCE IN
THE FRG. HE WORRIED THAT THE MAJORITY OF THE GERMAN
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PUBLIC MIGHT ONE DAY FEEL UNABLE TO RESIST SUCH PRES-

SURE. FOR THESE REASONS, MERTES SAID AN FRG INTERPRETATIVE DECLARATION ALONG THE LINES OF TEXT IN REF A - PARA 2 WAS ESSENTIAL.

2. AMBASSADOR REPLIED THAT U.S. SIXTH INTERPRETATION, WHICH HAD BEEN DEVELOPED WITH NATO ALLIES, WOULD SEEM TO MEET THE SUBSTANCE OF MERTES' CONCERNS ON EUROPEAN OPTION AS BRITISH AND/OR FRENCH WOULD ONLY AGREE TO MARRY THEIR NUCLEAR CAPABILITIES IN A EUROPEAN FORCE ONCE A FEDERATED EUROPEAN STATE WITH A TRULY JOINT COMMAND AND CONTROL STRUCTURE IS ESTABLISHED. ISSUE WOULD BE ACADEMIC UNTIL THIS POINT AND NPT WOULD PRESENT NO OBSTACLES TO EUROPEAN OPTION ONCE SUCH A FEDERAL STATE EXISTS. ON CONTROL ISSUE, AMBASSADOR DREW ON REF A - PARA 4A, STRESSING THAT AN FRG EFFORT TO EXTEND U.S./SOVIET UNDERSTANDING WOULD ONLY ATTRACT RUSSIAN OBJECTIONS AND THUS EXACERBATE SITUATION. AMBASSADOR SAID U.S. ALSO HAD OTHER DIFFICULTIES WITH INTERPRETATIVE TEXT PROPOSED BY MERTES; (AT LATTER'S REQUEST, EMBOFF SUBSEQUENTLY ORALLY DESCRIBED SPECIFIC U.S. OBJECTIONS IN REF A - PARA 4, ADDING IN REPLY TO FURTHER QUESTION FROM MERTES THAT DEPT HAD NOT INDICATED WHETHER NEW FRG INTERPRETATION PER SE WOULD BE OBJECTIONABLE). AS TO MERTES' FEAR OF POSSIBLE EVENTUAL MAJORITY GERMAN SUPPORT FOR SOVIET INTERPRETATION OF NPT, AMBASSADOR SAID THIS BELONGED IN REALM OF GERMAN INTERNAL POLITICS BUT SEEMED UNLIKELY PROSPECT GIVEN BROAD COMMON INTERESTS OF U.S./FRG ALLIES AND CONTINUED AMERICAN PRESENCE

3. MERTES CONFIRMED REF B INFO ON BOTH TIMETABLE FOR GERMAN NPT RATIFICATION PROCEEDING AND SUBSTANCE OF JAN 23 BUNDESTAG FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE MEETING. HE CONFIRMED THAT BRANDT AND SCHEEL HAD INDICATED

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9995

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 01491

GOVERNMENT'S READINESS TO ISSUE NEW DECLARATION ON NPT, UPDATING NOV 28, 1969 DECLARATION, AND "IN FRAMEWORK OF AMERICAN INTERPRETATIONS." MERTES TOLD AMBASSADOR THAT HE AND MANY OF HIS CDU COLLEAGUES COULD ONLY VOTE "YES" ON NPT RATIFICATION IF SATISFACTORY INTERPRETATIVE DECLARATION EMERGED. IF GOVERNMENT DECLARATION UNSATISFACTORY, HE AND COLLEAGUES WOULD FEEL COMPELLED TO VOTE "NO." AFTER MEETING WITH AMB, MERTES TOLD EMBOFF THAT IT REMAINED UNCLEAR WHETHER GOVERNMENT DECLARATION WOULD BE SUFFICIENT TO JUSTIFY AFFIRMATIVE VOTE; HE INDICATED THAT CDU REMAINED DIVIDED INTO THREE GROUPS--YES, NO, AND UNDECIDED.

4. THROUGHOUT CONVERSATION, MERTES WAS AT PAINS TO STRESS THAT OBJECTIONS ON NPT RELATED TO FRG INCURRING OBLIGATIONS ON VITAL SECURITY MATTER TO SOVIET ADVERSARY. HE VOICED CHAGRIN THAT, "SPD WOULD SEEK TO PORTRAY HIM AND OTHER LIFETIME SUPPORTERS OF ALLIANCE WITH U.S. AND NATO AS ANTI-AMERICAN."

5. AMBASSADOR RECALLED WELL-KNOWN U.S. POSITION STRONGLY FAVORING EARLY NPT RATIFICATION BY FRG AND ALL OTHER STATES. HE SAID U.S. DID NOT WISH TO BE DRAWN INTO CONFIDENTIAL

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INTERNAL GERMAN DEBATE OR TO BE MANIPULATED DURING PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE; HOWEVER, IT PROBABLY WAS INEVITABLE THAT GOVERNMENT SPOKESMEN WOULD CITE KNOWN U.S. POSITION. FRIENDSHIP OF MERTES AND OTHER CDU DEPUTIES FOR U.S. WAS NOT IN DOUBT, BUT NEGATIVE VOTES BY LARGE NUMBER OF BUNDESTAG DEPUTIES WOULD NONETHELESS BE VERY REGRETTABLE.

6. IN CLOSING, MERTES SAID THERE ARE NO OBJECTIONS IN CDU/CSU GROUP TO EURATOM/IAEA VERIFICATION AGREEMENT, THAT OPPOSITION WOULD COOPERATE IN EXPEDITING RATIFICATION PROCEEDINGS AND THAT CDU/CSU WOULD PRESENT THEIR VIEWS DISCREETLY TO AVOID EMBARRASSMENT FOR USG.

HILLENBRAND

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